

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 INR-05 NSC-05 PRS-01
CIAE-00 NSAE-00 TRSE-00 L-01 SP-02 DODE-00 /040 W
-----075142 212209Z /70

P R 211900Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7765
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL TURIN
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL TRIESTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 17296

LIMDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IT
SUBJECT: EXPANSION OF THE 6 PARTY ACCORD

REF: ROME 17281

1. THE SIX PARTY DOCUMENT REFERRED TO REFTEL IS SIGNIFICANT IN
THAT, BOTH LAST FALL AND MORE SPECIFICALLY EARLIER THIS SUMMER DURING
THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE "SIX PARTY PROGRAM AGREEMENT," THE DC
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RESISTED STRONG PCI PRESSURES AND EXPLICITLY EXCLUDED FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FROM THE PROGRAM AGREEMENT. THE DC ARGUED THAT, BY DOING SO, IT
MADE CLEAR THAT THE PROGRAM AGREEMENT DOES NOT REPRESENT A GENERAL
POLITICAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE 6 PARTIES AND THUS DID NOT BRING
THE COMMUNIST PARTY INTO THE MAJORITY OR THE GOVERNMENT.

2. THE 6 PARTY DOCUMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY (REFTEL) IS IN ITS

SUBSTANCE SUFFICIENTLY ANODYNE; ITS SIGNIFICANCE LIES ENTIRELY IN THE FACT THAT IT EXISTS. HOW IT WAS DEVELOPED IS UNCLEAR. OUR INFORMATION SUGGESTS THAT IT WAS NOT NEGOTIATED AT A HIGH LEVEL WITHIN THE SIX PARTIES. NEVERTHELESS, ONCE IT WAS WRITTEN AND INTRODUCED AND APPROVED IN THE SENATE, THE COMMUNISTS IMMEDIATELY EMPHASIZED ITS BASIC POLITICAL IMPORTANCE. IT WAS REPORTED PROMINENTLY IN L'UNITA IN A STORY THAT FOLLOWED THE LINES OF A STATEMENT BY SENATOR PIERALLI, COMMUNIST LEADER IN THE SENATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE: "THE DOCUMENT SUBSCRIBED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES YESTERDAY IN THE SENATE IS AN IMPORTANT EVENT BECAUSE IT REGISTERS FOR THE FIRST TIME A CONSENSUS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES, NONE EXCLUDED, ON THE GENERAL LINES OF ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY. THAT CONSENSUS SANCTIONS A SITUATION

THAT IN FACT EXISTED BEFORE; IT IS THE FRUIT OF THE CHANGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ALSO OF THE CHANGE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLITICAL FORCES OF THE NATION."

3. THE DC HAS NOT FORMALLY COMMENTED ON THE 6 PARTY DOCUMENT OR THE PCI'S INTERPRETATION THEREOF. FOREIGN MINISTER FORLANI DID, IN THE SENATE, STATE THAT HE FOUND IT SIGNIFICANT THAT THE DEBATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONCLUDED WITH AN AGREED RESOLUTION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH HE EXPRESSED AGREEMENT. THE DC'S PAPER, IL POPOLO, WENT FURTHER AND REPORTED THAT "FORLANI ... STATED HIS AGREEMENT WITH THE CONTENTS OF THE DOCUMENT, UNDERLINING HOW THE CONSENSUS AMONG

THE POLITICAL FORCES (INVOLVED IN) THE SIX PARTY PROGRAM ACCORD IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITIVE EVOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS (IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS) CORRESPONDS TO A 'NEW SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY' IN LIGHT OF THE MANY UNKNOWN OF THE COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL SCENE."

4. IN VIEW OF THE POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE, THE AMBASSADOR REGISTERED HIS SUPRISE TO LA ROCCA, PM ANDREOTTI'S DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR

(SENIOR FONOFF OFFICIALS BEING UNAVAILABLE). THE AMBASSADOR RECALLED THE DC'S (AND SPECIFICALLY, MORO'S) EARLIER ASSURANCES THAT FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD BE DELIBERATELY EXCLUDED FROM WORKING AGREEMENTS

WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY. LA ROCCA, AFTER CONSULTING ANDREOTTI AND ON THE LATTER'S INSTRUCTIONS CONVEYED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO AMBASSADOR:

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 INR-05 NSC-05 PRS-01
CIAE-00 NSAE-00 TRSE-00 L-01 SP-02 DODE-00 /040 W
-----074996 212210Z /70

P R 211900Z OCT 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7766
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
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ANDREOTTI DOES NOT ATTRIBUTE MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE SIX PARTY DOCUMENT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS JUST A PARLIAMENTARY TEXT. THE DOCUMENT WAS NOT NEGOTIATED OR DRAFTED AT A HIGH LEVEL IN THE GOVERNMENT OR IN THE PARTIES. THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT IN THE PROCESS OF RENEGOTIATING ITS FOREIGN POLICY IN ORDER TO PLEASE THE PCI. RATHER THAN LIMITING THE GOVERNMENT, THE SIX PARTY DOCUMENT IN FACT PRODUCES A LARGER CONSENSUS IN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY. THIS SHOULD BE HELPFUL BOTH TO THE GOVERNMENT AND TO THE US SINCE IT IS PULLING THE PCI TOWARD CLOSER ALIGNMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT'S BASIC FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS.

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5. COMMENT: THE SPEED AND CARE WITH WHICH ANDREOTTI REACTED TO MY QUESTION IS BOTH AN INDICATION OF HIS SENSITIVITY ON THE SUBJECT AS WELL AS A DEMONSTRATION THAT HE IS AWARE THAT WE ARE WATCHING HIS

GOVERNMENT'S BEHAVIOR TOWARD THE PCI WITH GREAT CARE. I APPRECIATE ANDREOTTI'S ASSURANCE THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THE SIX PARTY DOCUMENT

HAS NOT HAD AND WILL NOT HAVE ANY EFFECT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE
GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FACT REMAINS THAT
THE
PCI IS PUBLICLY CLAIMING THAT FOREIGN POLICY IS NOW PART OF THE
PROGRAM ACCORD AND THEREFORE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION AMONG THE SIX
PARTIES. IF THAT CLAIM GOES UNANSWERED BY THE DC, IT WILL CLEARLY
AFFECT PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE DC'S AND THE GOVERNMENT'S
RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS, IN
ITALY AND ABROAD, ON THIS KIND OF ISSUE ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE.
GARDNER

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Message Attributes

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